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and there by little islands in the distance. There is no sign of human habitation. Other parts of the road run through native villages, with the little low, thatch-roofed, bamboo-walled huts nestling under the tall palm trees. In front of a house is a man playing with his infant son. Out on a reef is a group of men standing in circular formation knee-deep in the sea, each with a fishing-net or spear, waiting for the appropriate moment to close in on the fish. Further on sits an old man in front of the men's house, weaving a fishing-net. In the open compound are a group of women sitting on the ground, scraping the taro for their evening meal. From the road the gardens are not visible, for they are several miles distant in the bush.

The road leaves the village to run again through an uninhabited part, where the only sound is the roar of the waves against a high precipice. Then it turns in and passes through the evenly planted coconut trees of a white man's plantation, whose orderliness stands out in contrast with the irregular and crowded coconut trees in the villages. So the road continues, linking distant villages in a friendly fashion, whereas before the advent of the white man the relationship between them was merely the hostilities of warfare.[1]

DAILY LIFE

In the villages the day begins with the rising sun, which is the timepiece for the natives.[2] From the home emerge, yawning, the husband, wife, female children, and very young

[1] The road was begun under the German administration and is now kept up by native labour.

[2] The sun rises and sets at approximately six o'clock, with a variation of only about twenty minutes throughout the year. Sunrise, sunset, and night are the main distinctions of time. Other times are indicated by pointing to the place in the sky where the sun would be then. Boys who have worked on the white man's plantation know noon as the time for the midday meal, but it does not figure in native life.

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boys. The unmarried men, boys, and married men whose wives are pregnant or nursing infants, as well as a few other men, have slept in the men's house on the beach. Lovers will have slept in the bush, or in the woman's house if the husband is absent.

The men and boys stroll along the beach, where off one end behind a coral formation is the men's latrine, secluded by bushes and trees. The tide washing in makes the latrine a sanitary one. The men continue their leisurely stroll along the beach, sometimes stopping to sit down and gaze at the sea for awhile. The whole day is before them and there is no need for haste.

In the meantime the women and girls have defaecated in the bush, somewhere back of the house, which they now sweep with a broom made of the dried midribs of coconut leaves tied together at one end. The wife throws some taro scrapings and the ends of taro left from the previous day to the pigs. By the time the man has returned from the beach the woman has finished tidying the house. Each now eats a taro baked the day before. This is not a regular meal, and they frequently eat while standing up or sauntering about.

After this (it is now about 7.30) the women load baskets on their backs and go to the gardens, which are about an hour's walk through the bush. Here they plant the taro, pull out weeds, and fill the baskets with taro ready to be eaten. The men may go to the gardens also, to build a new fence, or repair an old one, to clear ground for a new garden, or perhaps to get firewood. Or they may stay at home to look after the baby. Sometimes they fish, build a new house, or repair an old one. Men too old to work sit on the beach, or in the compound in front of the house, or occasionally take a short stroll. A feeble old woman stays in the house. One not so feeble, but too old for active work, takes care of a grandchild, real or classificatory. The occu-

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512 857 The occupation of the children varies according to their sex. The girls from about ten on help their mothers in the gardens. The boys wander around the village, playing and taking care of their younger sisters and brothers. If there is any fishing, they stand about on the fringe looking on, as they do also in housebuilding or any other occupation. A slightly older boy assists his father in work connected with the gardens, when his help is needed.

512 The women, and men too, if they have gone to the gardens, return to the village in the early afternoon, usually about two o'clock. This varies, and occasionally they come back at noon, or sometimes late afternoon, about four or five o'clock. They arrive back hot, dusty, and tired, and [515] immediately bathe in the sea, coming out cleansed and refreshed. Both men and women wear their loin-cloths when they go into the sea and put on dry ones when they come out. There are no separate bathing-places for the sexes, but as a matter of practice the two sexes never bathe very near each other at the same time. After bathing they perform the toilet of the day, combing their hair and powdering it with white lime. If they feel so inclined they may add [302] some facial decoration; painting a yellow ring around one eye is a favourite style. Then, if they are hungry, there is a piece of cold baked taro in the house, left over from the day before.

512 462 252 Now come the preparations for the evening meal, mostly the woman's task and usually done communally by the members of one hamlet or two neighbouring ones. Occasionally, if they have returned late from the gardens, the cooking is done individually. The women scrape the taro and the men bring in the firewood and the leaves and make the *liga*, a pile of hot stones, in which the food is baked. If it is an ordinary meal and no fish or animal is to be baked, the men are not very busy and look after the babies, or stroll 512 about chatting with each other. The women work seriously,

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but when their preparations are finished, about four o'clock, they take their ease and chat and gossip lightly. Perhaps they wander over to another hamlet and visit the women there. At sunset they return home, feed the pigs with the scrapings from the taro, and, if they have fowls,[1] these are also fed. The girls and younger children go to the beach waterholes, in which the sea-water is filtered as it trickles up through the sand, and they fill the hollow bamboo stems with drinking-water. The time for this varies with the tide.

Night comes quickly and by seven it is almost completely dark. Each family is gathered around its own fire in the compound in front of the house. Some sit on the ground, and others may be on a bamboo bench constructed near the fire. Now they have their evening meal, the inevitable baked taro, perhaps varied with a bit of fish or a few crabs. Throughout the village every family is gathered as a unit around its own fire, and there is an air of peace in the place.

How the rest of the evening is spent will depend upon the moon. On dark nights, unlit by the moon, everyone goes to bed quite early, an hour or so after they finish the evening meal, but on moonlight nights the scene is different. Even when the moon is only half full the village is illumined by its beams, and when it is completely rounded the place fairly shimmers in its rays. The leaves of the coconut palms shine bright green and the bamboo trees sparkle with fireflies. The beach is like a cold white streak lying between the dark blue waves and the green trees. The tall arica palm nods its head gracefully in the background. The fires gleam throughout the village and aid the moon in throwing tall shadows, which make the houses seem small and insignificant. Now there is gaiety in the night. Children are playing on the beach imitating a ritual dance. Adults are visiting each other in their compounds, or strolling about, and

[1] Chickens have been introduced through white contact.

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512 513 517 there is light laughter and gay voices. One group of men is at the men's house. Lovers have gone into the privacy of the deep bush, which even the moon cannot penetrate. The evening passes happily for everyone and bedtime comes close to midnight.

512 461 The days are full, but not hurried. In addition to the normal work there are the many feasts to prepare for, dances to be rehearsed for coming rites, and other preparations for ritual activities, which consume a large amount of time. To-day, also, the native is compelled to keep the [651 491] road in good condition, and this work lessens the time for his own labour.[1] The native habit is to take time off when he is very tired or has nothing to do. For instance, after a strenuous three or four days of mortuary rites he sleeps for a whole day. But I did not see any healthy men or women spend many days in idleness. They were busy, with suitable intervals for leisure, and, on the whole, they lead an active life, but one without hurry or tension. No exact hour or day is set far in advance for an elaborate rite, but when the preparations are finished, the rite will be carried out.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

182 This daily life is set within a social structure which may be likened to an elastic configuration, functioning as the individuals live within it. In this configuration are certain fundamental elements which are chosen for detailed observation and study. These elements are the groupings of people on the basis of kinship, locality, and sex. The place of an individual within the structure and his various relationships with other people are largely determined (in so far as they are socially determined) by blood relationships, place of residence, and sex.

[1] He is required to give three days a week for this labour.